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Sarakatsani, and they believe that in blood and heroism their own contribution to the freedom of Greece was incomparable. At the same time they explicitly question the loyalty of the Koutsovlachs[4] or Albanian Vlachs, accusing them in the recent wars of collaboration or communist affiliations. Although they share a similar type of economy there is no sympathy between Sarakatsani and these other shepherds. They envy the Koutsovlachs for their relative affluence and their established villages. And they are hostile to the Albanian Vlachs, because it is particularly with these groups that many Sarakatsani must compete for the limited areas of winter grazing land. Even the flesh of an Albanian Vlach, they say, does not smell like that of a Christian.[5] Intermarriage with these people is unknown and between the more traditional Sarakatsani and Koutsovlachs it is, at least, very rare.

In recent decades the problem of the origin of the Sarakatsan communities has provoked a considerable amount of writing. Interest was aroused more particularly after the publication in 1925 of a brilliant linguistic study of the Sarakatsan dialect by the Danish scholar, Carsten Höeg.[6] In the opening chapters of this work Höeg gives some ethnographic details of the communities he visited and presents a theory that these shepherds are the descendants of primitive pastoral tribes, which he believes must always have existed in this part of Greece from preclassical times.[7] This view was naturally well received by Greek folklorists and historians. For equally obvious reasons it was strongly disputed by a number of Rumanian writers and publicists, of whom perhaps Theodor Capidan is the best known. Before the 1939–45 war these writers, continuing in a long tradition of Rumanian nationalist propaganda, were eager to stress the relationship between Rumanians and Koutsovlachs. (Indeed, even before the beginning of this century schools had been subsidized by Rumanian funds in the larger Koutsovlach

[4] In fact, from the period of the Revolution the contribution of the Koutsovlachs to the Greek State both in wealth and talent has been very considerable.

[5] Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. νη'.

[6] Carsten Höeg, *Les Saracatsans. Étude linguistique*, 2 vols., Paris and Copenhagen, 1925 and 1926.

[7] P. Aravandinos had already made this claim in 1903. Π. Ἀραβαντινός, *Μονογραφία περὶ Κουτσοβλάχων*, Athens, 1905, p. 38.

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villages.) But Capidan[8] and his followers also claimed that the Sarakatsani, far from being the descendants of ancient Greek tribesmen, were not Greeks at all, but Rumanian Koutsovlachs who in comparatively recent times had become hellenized.[9] The complete absence of any reference in Byzantine authors, or in writers of chronicles as late as the eighteenth century, to any communities of shepherds known as Sarakatsani, only increased the temptation to wild flights of speculative fancy by both sides to this controversy. In the absence of any certain historical data much of the argument centred around the interpretation of what little the Sarakatsani themselves had to say about their past, and a number of ingenious but quite improbable solutions to the etymology of the name Sarakatsanos.[10]

The various problems which surround the origins of the Sarakatsani may never find definitive solutions. The affairs of unlettered shepherds were not considered important by classical, Byzantine, or mediaeval writers. The probability that, as a consequence of the existing conditions of climate and relief, transhumant pastoralism of one kind or another has, from the earliest times, been a feature of Greek country life, has no doubt discouraged curiosity and comment. A hundred years ago a significantly higher proportion of the country people lived by the herding of sheep and goats, whether they belonged to genuinely transhumant communities, or to established villages which sent away their animals for six months of the year under the care of shepherds whose families remained in the village. It is only in the last fifty years that, with closer settlement and more intensive agriculture, groups of transhumant shepherds have become a somewhat anomalous element in Greek country life. But the emergence of the different Balkan nationalities is the factor which essentially explains this sudden interest in wandering shepherds. Before and after the Balkan Wars (1912–13),

[8] See Theodor Capidan, 'Saracacianii', *Dacoromania*, 1924–6, vol. 4, pp. 923-59.

[9] Cf. C. Jirec'ek, *Das Fürstentum Bulgarien*, Vienna, 1891, p. 118.

[10] A lucid review of these different solutions is found in an article by Δημ. Γεωργακᾶς, «Περὶ τῶν Σαρακατσαναίων τῆς Θράκης», *Ἀρχεῖον τοῦ Θρακικοῦ Λαογραφικοῦ καὶ Γλωσσικοῦ Θησαυροῦ*, 1945–6, vol. 12, pp. 105–28. The second part of this article, 1947–8, vol. 14, pp. 193 ff., is concerned with other aspects of the problem of origin.

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folklorists and historians struggled with patriotic inventiveness to provide historical and ethnological evidence for the advance or validation of their various national frontiers in areas which under the unity imposed by the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires had become an inextricable patchwork of different ethnic and religious groups. The Sarakatsani were one element in this complex pattern. For under Turkish rule their seasonal migrations had led many of them across limits that were later to become the frontiers of Greece, with Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Turkey.

In these debates the Greeks and their supporters present the more convincing argument. They suggest that if the Sarakatsani were recently hellenized Koutsovlachs they would preserve at least some traces of a foreign origin in their language and customs. But Höeg has shown[11] that neither phonetically, nor in terms of grammatical structure, are there traces of Koutsovlach elements in the dialect spoken by the Sarakatsani. He also claims that the dialects of the Sarakatsani in Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly present a linguistic unity.[12] If the various groups of Sarakatsani had, indeed, been recently hellenized one would have expected them to speak the local dialect of the province in which they now find their grazing lands; and this is not the case. And he properly adds to these linguistic arguments information about the different marriage customs of the two groups.[13]

Where Höeg has used linguistic and ethnographic criteria, Mme Chatzimichalis also emphasizes the unity of Sarakatsan art forms,[14] which are simple, static, and geometric, do not vary from one province to another, and in the absence of naturalistic expression differ radically from those of the Koutsovlachs.

But the rebuttals by both these authors of the opinion that Sarakatsani are hellenized Koutsovlachs are only the preliminaries to their own more general theory that the Sarakatsani are the direct descendants of shepherd communities of preclassical Greece—a claim which it is equally difficult to prove

[11] Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 78.
[12] Ibid., vol. i, preface, p. VIII.
[13] Ibid., vol. i, p. 81.
[14] Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ϱ'.

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or disprove. Mme Chatzimichalis believes that they are a people, who, in their pastoral way of life, social organization, and art, show forth certain prototypical elements of early Greek culture.[15] She is much impressed, for instance, by the similarities between the motifs of Sarakatsan decorative art and those of the 'geometric' style of pre-classical Greece.

Professor Höeg claims that a comparison of the Sarakatsan dialect with the other dialects of continental Greece[16] suggests that it was formed some four or five centuries ago. Arrived at this point in time he observes that although the peoples which invaded the Balkans during the Middle Ages, i.e. the Slavs, Bulgars, Turks, and Tartars, were all of nomadic origin, they rapidly changed to an agricultural economy as soon as they were established in Europe. Further, it is only in quite exceptional circumstances that sedentary populations revert to nomadism. The Sarakatsan material culture, he argues, shows no trace of sedentary origins; on the contrary it follows with precision and simplicity from the conditions of transhumant life in a particular physical environment. And on the other hand Höeg is able to supply literary evidence[17] that forms of transhumance existed in classical and Hellenistic Greece; particularly in northern and north-western Greece. By a form of argument *ex ignorantia* we arrive at the conclusion that the Sarakatsani, a people without history, must always have lived in more or less the same conditions and areas as we find them today.

As is proper for a social anthropologist not concerned with the problem of origins, my own more limited conclusion is that in their social values and institutions, the Sarakatsani, as they exist today, provide no evidence of a past history that was ever anything but Greek. They still hold to what villagers now describe as 'the old customs', moral attitudes in family and community which a hundred years ago were general throughout Greek mountain communities, and still persist today, although now in conflict with other values of urban and alien origins.

[15] Ibid., vol. i, Part A, in the section 'Sarakatsani, nomads since ancient times?'

[16] Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 82 ff.

[17] For instance; Sophocles, Oedipus Rex, line 1135 ff.; Arrián, Anabasis, VII.9.2.

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families live for the last few days on vegetable soup, beans, and coffee. For this week, at least, the ancestral sins of sensuality and envy must be suppressed. The community becomes continent and unrelated men behave towards one another with unaccustomed warmth and goodwill. A man must truly repent his personal sins. Whenever a confessor is within reach, he ought to make a confession of his sins before taking communion. He must approach God with a 'good heart'. In these ways a man to a degree, loosens the hold which material things and the senses hold over him and, in some measure, is purified so that he may receive into himself the divine element. The Sarakatsanos believes that if he is properly prepared ritually and spiritually to receive the sacrament, then his sins are forgiven. The wine he drinks is indeed the blood of Christ (the body is seldom mentioned) and it is considered a sin if any man suffers a fit of vomiting in the 40 days which immediately follow communion. It is also described as a remembrance (ἐνθύμιον) of Christ. Thus the wine is at one and the same time a symbol of the first sacrifice and a material substance in which divine energy exists. It represents, and it is, the blood of Christ.

4. SOCIAL VALUES AND RELIGIOUS IDEALS

At the risk of some repetition, the problem of the opposition of two systems of values, one social the other religious, has yet to be explicitly considered. This community of Sarakatsani, whose coherent and distinctive traditions suggest, in the absence of any certain historical proofs, that it may have existed since, at least, the late Byzantine period, possesses a body of social values based upon a number of simple and unambiguous concepts of honour, strength, prestige and pride. And in the previous chapter I have emphasized the exclusive and particularist form of these social ideals. Yet throughout this period the community has belonged to an Orthodox Christian civilization. Allowing for its primitive material culture and geographical isolation, it has clearly been profoundly influenced by this wider membership as, for instance, even a cursory examination of Sarakatsan wood-carving immediately suggests. Although it is true that the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the Orthodox Church, as an institution, has been sufficiently tenuous to result in a popular religious life that is a gross

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121 182 361 It is clear, therefore, that the fundamental parameters of their existence are the herding of small livestock; the seasonal displacement in the form of nomadism; the fact that they are situated in inhabited regions; their isolation from the surrounding society; the maintainance with that society of a minimum of necessary relations connected largely with their activity as shepherds; the physico-chemical nature of the soil and the terrain, the climate, the flora and fauna, characteristics of the Hellenic Peninsula that is their habitat.

121 182 174 This is not all. Sarakatsani society seems to have its origins in Hellenic society. Many aspects of its culture are found to be inspired by very ancient Hellenic culture. Now this fact constitutes another very important parameter, a temporal dimension that is not negligible and that we should constantly keep in mind as much as the others, all during our investigation. This aspect should figure, and will actually figure in our analysis.

However, since the question of the ethnic origins of the Sarakatsani has been disputed, it is advisable to devote a few pages to it, if only to justify what we have just said.

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174 Since the evidence and the objective data concerning the origin of the Sarakatsani are sadly lacking, the way is open for theoretical discussion.

A considerable number of historians, geographers, linguists, literary men, etc., Greeks and outsiders, have advanced widely divergent hypotheses, presenting the Sarakatsani by turns as Turks, Italiotes, Rumanians, Arumani, direct descendants of the Greek nomads of antiquity, etc.

/6/ A succinct account of their theories will give an idea of these hypotheses.

(113) Authors who maintain that the Sarakatsani are not Greek:

a) The Frenchman, A. van Gennep (7),

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7. A. van Gennep: Compte rendu sur C. Höeg: "Les Saracatsans", p. 211.

considers them (on the basis of a hypothesis) as descendants of the Turks settled in the country.

b) The Italian, A. Baldacci (8)

8. A. Baldacci: Itinerari Albanesi /Albanian Travel Diaries/, p. 106 and 254.

maintains that the Sarakatsani are originally Latin (Italiotes), who have become Hellenized.

c) The Rumanian, N. Jorga (9),

9. N. Jorga: Compte rendu sur C. Höeg, p.243-45, and Histoire de Roumains de la péninsule des Balkans, p. 36.

calls them Rumanians who settled in Illyria (present-day Albania), and eventually became Hellenized.

d) The Yugoslav Const. Jirec'ek (10), The Hungarian,

10. C. Jirec'ek: Gesty do Bulgharsky, p. 220.

L. Thalocsy (11), the German Karl Oestreich (12) and the Bulgarian P. Ts'ilef (13), propose that the Sarakatsani are Hellenized Arumani.

11. L. Thalocsy: Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte der Balkanhalbinsel /Contributions to the History of the Settlement of the Balkan Peninsula/, p. 60.

12. K. Oestreich: Die Bevölkerung von Makedonien /The Population of Macedonia/, p. 287.

13. P. Ts'ilef: Les Saracatsans, p. 51 f.

The Rumanian authors P. Papahagi (14), T. Papahagi (15) and T. Capidan (16), likewise adhere to this last theory with this difference that they locate the origin of the Sarakatsani geographically in villages inhabited by the Koutsovalaques in southern Albania.

14. P. Papahagi: Numiri Etnice la Aromani, pages passim.

15. T. Papahagi: Compte rendu sur: C. Höeg, p. 260 f.

174 (113)

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16. T. Capidan: "Sarăcăcianii," (Compte rendu sur C. Höeg), p. 923 f.

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However, none of these authors has been able to bring forward convincing proof in support of their theory about the foreign origin of the Sarakatsani. On the contrary, between Sarakatsani life and that of Rumanians, Arumani, Turks or Albanians there is no affinity or resemblance that would permit such a conclusion. The Hellenization of the Sarakatsani in the course of time, which these authors suggest in order to justify their theory, is an artificial hypothesis. In fact, the Sarakatsani have not mingled with or ever participated in peasant life, nor in the life of other nomads of the country. Now, if they were strangers and did not have contact with the natives how could they have had the opportunity to become Hellenized? Moreover, since they led a life apart from the other inhabitants of Greece, how could their isolation not have contributed to the /7/ preservation and survival rather than the disappearance of their original ethnic traits?

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That is why a certain number of other authors, likewise of different nationalities, have maintained that the Sarakatsani are Greeks. They are:

--The Frenchmen L. Heuzey (17) and J. Ancel (18).

17. L. Heuzey: Le mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie p. 200.

18. J. Ancel: La Macédoine, p. 24.

--The Germans G. Stadmuller (19), A. Passow (20), A. Philipson (21), P. Kretschmer (22), Ed. Hermann (23), and P. Wahrmann (24).

19. G. Stadmüller: Problèmes relevant de l'étude historique de l'Épire, p. 156.

20. A. Passow: Carmina Popularia Graeciae Recentioris, p. 648.

21. A. Philipson: Thesalien und Epirus, p. 391.

22. P. Kretschmer: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 180.

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23. Ed. Hermann: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Hŏeg, p. 1389.

24. P. Wahrmann: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Hŏeg, p. 359-363.

--The Austrian, A. Haberlandt (25).

25. A. Haberlandt: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Hŏeg, p. 141.

--The Dane, Carsten Hŏeg (26).

26. C. Hŏeg: Les Saracatsans, p. 82 f.

--The Bulgarian, A. Ischirkoff (27).

27. A. Ischirkoff: Bulgarien, Land und Leute /Bulgaria, the country and the people/, vol. I, P. 31.

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--Finally, the Greeks, K. Amantos (28), A. Keramopoulos (29), N. Bees (30), St. Kyriakidès (31), M. Triantaphyllidès (32) (professors at the University of Athens and of Salonica), J. Vlachoyannis (33), P. Aravantinos (34), J. Lambridès (35), K. Krystallis (36), E. Tziantzios (37) and very recently D. Georgakas (38) and Madame Ang. Hadjimichali (39).

28. Κ. ΑΜΑΝΤΟΣ : Σαράκατσάνοι, p. 90.
29. Α. ΚΕΡΑΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ : Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι, p. 21.
30. N. BEHΣ : Σαρακατσανέοι.
31. Σ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΗΣ : Βιβλιοκρισία ἐπί τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ *C. Hœg*, p. 366-368.
32. Μ. ΤΡΙΑΝΤΑΦΥΛΛΙΔΗΣ, ὁμοίως, p. 5.
33. Γ. ΒΛΑΧΟΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ : Ν. Κασομούλη : Στρατιωτικά ἀνδρώματα, p. 108.
34. Π. ΑΡΑΒΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ : Χρονογραφία τῆς Ἠπείρου, p. 146-677.
35. Ι. ΛΑΜΠΡΙΔΟΥ : Ἱστορικαί Μελέται, p. 12 et 50-51.
36. Κ. ΚΡΥΣΤΑΛΛΗ : Οἱ Βλάχοι τῆς Πίνδου, p. 102.
37. Ε. ΤΖΙΑΝΤΖΙΟΥ : Τραγούδια τῶν Σαρακατσάνων
38. Δ. ΓΕΩΡΓΑΚΑ : Περί τῆς καταγωγῆς καί τοῦ ἰδιάματος τῶν Σαρακατσάνων, p. 94 et suiv.
39. Α. ΧΑΤΖΗΜΙΧΑΛΗ : Σαρακατσάνοι, A, I p. ϛ - ρε'.

These authors do not all agree on the moment when the Sarakatsani appeared. Some of them claim that their origin goes back to antiquity.

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Carsten Höeg, P. Aravantinos, K. Amantos, A. Keramopoulos and Madame Hadjimichali strongly emphasize /8/ this idea. The Germans A. Kretschmer and P. Wharmann share the opinion of C. Höeg, but make no commentary. However, this theory, according to which the Sarakatsani would be Greek nomads going back to antiquity, does not seem to us justified. For in Greek or Latin literature one does not find any illusion by any ancient author to the existence of nomads on Greek soil. Indeed it seems that such a way of life did not exist among the Greeks. (40)

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40. A. Philipson: Das Mittelmeergebiet /The Mediterranean Region/, p. 188.

Madame Hadjimichali tries to explain to us that the Greek writers were not particularly interested in the Sarakatsani since the nomads did not belong to any town and consequently did not really participate in political and historical life. Moreover, she maintains that Sarakatsani art represents a survival of neolithic Greek art and is consequently a proof of the antiquity of their origin.

We find that we must reject these arguments, first because Greek authors, on the contrary, were enormously interested in modes of life different from that of the city: Pausanias, Herodotus, Aristotle, etc., tell us much of it. But they never spoke of Greek nomadism. (41)

[113]

41. These authors were acquainted with nomadism. Aristotle: Politics, book I, chapter III, paragraph 4, in treating the problem of modes of life, mentions nomadism but does not cite it as one of the forms of life of the Hellenes.--Pausanias: Description de la Grèce /Description of Greece/, also speaks of it, three times: book I, chapter VII, paragraph 2, book I, chapter 21, paragraphs 5-6, book VIII, chapter 43, paragraph 3. All these instances concern the barbarians--Libyans (Marmarides), Savromates, Blacks, Scythians.

Thus, if nomadic life had existed, we would certainly find references in legends, tales, folksongs, etc.

/8 cont./

174 114 What reinforces our objections is the fact that even down the centuries, when the cities no longer existed, we do not find any trace liable to justify this conception. The absolute silence which covers the supposed existence of the Sarakatsani for century after century only confirms the theory that their appearance is much more recent.

Furthermore, the second argument of Madame Hadjimichali based on Sarakatsani art, furnishes no proof either, in view of the fact that it concerns geometric art which one finds almost everywhere (in Kabylia, in Morocco, in Finland, in Peru, in Polynesia, etc.). Moreover forms based on geometric designs can be repeated, without this fact constituting proof of continuity. For these forms are limited by definition.

/9/ Thus it seems that this argumentation is not acceptible.

174 On the other hand, a careful and searching analysis of the idiom spoken by the Sarakatsani in conjuction with a certain number of facts which we shall enumerate below authorizes us to say that we are concerned with a group of sedentary Greek peasants who, from all evidence, were uprooted from their homes during the fourteenth century following an event thereof an unknown nature, and who sought refuge in the mountain region where, in order to survive, the began to practice herding and, as a consequence, nomadism.

This theory which has been proposed by the Greek scholar D. Georgakas, cited above, (42)

42. See p. 14

rests on a number of facts:

1. The idiom spoken by the Sarakatsani is one formed in the northern part of the country before the fourteenth century. Since the Sarakatsani live isolated from other Hellenes, it would be inconceivable to suppose that they existed earlier than their language. If they had, how could we explain that the latter does not include more archaic elements, since this is the case among the populations of some Greek islands and among the Greeks of the Trebizond region? Nor can their isolation be subsequent to this date.

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[174] [166] 2 The various regions of Greece experienced many exoduses in the course of that epoch. One can cite several cases of entire populations taking refuge in the mountain region and establishing new villages in order to escape the oppression of invaders.

[175] 3. A pattern of life of nomadic sheep herders did exist in the country from the eleventh century on, according to the testimony of the imperial princess of Byzantium, Anne Comnène, who is regarded as one of the most famous chroniclers of her time. (43)

43. Anne Comnène /sic/, edited by Bonne, I, p. 395: "... those who have chosen the nomadic life commonly call themselves Valaques." We know that the Valaques practiced sheep breeding.

4. The ethnological analysis of certain customs observed among them indicates practices of agricultural origin. This conclusion is verified by the fact that these same very ancient customs are found among the agricultural populations of the north. (44)

44. See below pp. 290-294, 302-303, 322-324, etc.

Now, would a people who were nomadic from the beginning have preserved the practiced customs of this kind?

[173] [162] /10/ 5. Finally, their collective memory still recalls "a flight into the mountain region to escape oppression, and the subsequent adoption of the life of stock-breeding nomads." To tell the truth, considering the nature of the soil of the Hellenic peninsula, herding constituted their only available means of meeting their material needs.

Obviously, if to these five arguments (the first of which was proposed by D. Géorgakas and the others by ourselves) one could add a sixth, namely, the preservation among the Sarakatsani of customs existing formerly among the populations of the north of Greece, one would reinforce this theory. Unfortunately, the intellectual heritage of the Greek middle ages, the accounts and testimonies of chroniclers, do not include descriptions of popular life to which one could refer. And the only work of this kind which we actually possess--a work written in the twelfth

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174 113 114 century by Eustace, Bishop of Salonika entitled "Folklore" (Ta Laographika), edited and annotated by Professor F. Koukoulès (in two volumes, Athens, publication of the Society of Macedonian Studies, 1950)--can be of no use for lack of details.

The same is true of the other work of Professor F. Koukoulès: Vie et Civilisation Byzantines (Vol. I-VI, published in Greek in the Collection of the French Institute of Athens, 1947-1957) for although it includes a wealth of details, it gives information only about urban life.

174 Thus, the arguments presented above permit us to conclude that the Sarakatsani constitute neither an ethnic minority nor a special race, but a part of the Hellenic population, which is distinguishable from the others by the originality of its life-style.

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121 This digression ended, we should like to say that the preceding findings, bearing on the special problems which the Sarakatsani must solve and on the conditions under which these problems must find their solution, have already presented the framework for the present work. As far as our conclusions are concerned, we shall attempt, in an essay of synthesis and explanation, to show the broad principles on which Sarakatsani society and culture are based and to try to examine them from a dynamic perspective, that of the process of their formation and of /11/ the function that has been imparted to them. We shall likewise examine, from the same point of view, the constituent elements of the society and culture of the Sarakatsani and their mutual relationships. Finally, we shall concern ourselves with the character of the culture and the human type corresponding to their socio-cultural system, and we shall close on some findings about the reasons for their [sic] decline.

It remains for us only to present, in a few words, the method and techniques used in carrying out the present work.

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233 182 318 However, if these last paragraphs have brought out the influence that the geographical and biological environment has had on the Sarakatsani, it is necessary also to mention the influence which their activity as herders has on the landscape itself.

233 318 For an observer it is easy to identify the area occupied by our herders. In those regions the ground is close-cropped. Seen from a sufficient distance it seems dotted with shrubs between which a sparse vegetation gives the impression of a green or yellowish carpet. In the valleys the shrubs are absent. But the carpet is always there, testifying to the presence of the flocks. Nature carries the [161] imprint of the passage of Sarakatsani and this on a very considerable scale in view of their number (according to approximate reckonings they represent a population of 90,000 to /21/ 110,000) and the number of their livestock which represents the core of sheep herding in Greece.

The effects of this imprint on the climate, the temperature and the water courses are evident.

If the life of the Sarakatsani is closely dependent on nature, the latter, in turn, is transformed by them in a manner which is just as significant.

Geographically speaking, these phenomena are noted around the large mountain ranges of the country, whether one looks at Pindus and its ramifications (Agrapha, Orthrys, Vardoussia, Parnassus), the Olympus chain including the Chassia, Vermion, Kaimaktsalan, or the Rodhopi chain including Phalakron, etc.

361 The Sarakatsani establish themselves on the slopes as well as in the valleys. The country they prefer is continintal Greece.

There are none on the islands or in the Peloponnesus. However, [174] we have reason to believe that there used to be some Sarakatsani groups in the northern Peloponnesus. But from all evidence, they were rapidly assimilated and have become peasants.

Thus their geographical habitat is confined to the areas we have

/136 cont./

583 What must we conclude from this mock abduction? Must we assume
174 that this custom, which goes back to a very remote past, (17)
[113]

17. See Plutarch: Lycurgue: 15. --M. Delcourt: Hephaistos, p. 195-200.--R. Flacelière: La vie quotidienne en Grèce, p. 84.

constitutes merely a picturesque survival of the practices of an epoch when, in order to get women, it was truly necessary to abduct them?

583 It is very probable that this explanation could be correct.
178 However, it is also true that a society preserves old practices only to the extent that the latter fulfill functions which are indispensable to its life. In this case, it very often gives them a different meaning from the original meaning.

583 /137/ Now it seems to us that this abduction represents at one and
182 the same time a symbol and a lesson, addressed both to the newly married
(613) woman and to the society as a whole: henceforth the fiancee must consider herself uprooted from her paternal family and integrated once and for all into the lineage of her husband. Moreover, she learns that the woman,
[593] "vanquished" in the game of marriage, owes obedience and respect to her
[562] husband whose relationship to her is that of a master.

583 That this interpretation is correct is attested by a certain number
585 of facts.
562 First, let us mention to begin with a couplet which the women sing
[533] during the wedding feast for the benefit of the bride:
[539]

--And you marrying, subject yourself
For such is the divine wish...(18)

18. Reported by B. Skafidias: Ibid., p. 58.

[533] Second, once arrived at the dwelling of her husband, the young wife
[602] is obliged to kiss the hands of all the relatives of the latter, whatever
[539] their age, in order thus to express her "respect" toward her new family, while all present address her singing:

G
671 /200/

/200/ As a matter of fact, the law that developed during the Turkish occupation in the local communities is a law of cooperation whereas Byzantine law, inspired by Roman law, is dominated by individualism. The Greeks of this period grouped themselves with all kinds of associations (economic, religious, political and, though this may seem strange under an occupation, even military). (6)

6. N. Pantazopoulos: «Ἕλλην συνεταιρισμός» with a copious bibliography.

Local law was adapted to the needs of this collective organization of life.
S
671 It should therefore not be astonishing that Sarakatsani law, which also
177 favors cooperation, should have been inspired by the model of external
S law, and that it should have been formed on the basis of the same princi-
[174] ples,despite its own peculiarities. However, this is merely a hypothesis,
[114] absolute verification of which is impossible at the moment for lack of data.

G Let us go on now to the examination of this same problem but within
671 the framework of the second period:
175

When the Hellenic kingdom was established the public law of the new
S state, though valid for and applicable to all Greeks and hence also to
[671] the Sarakatsani did not have much opportunity to interfere in their lives.
[177]

G The occupation and the war of independence left the country completely
648 disorganized and devoid of any framework and any public service. It took
729 many years before services were created, before archives and registers were set up dealing with the population - even the sedentary population. One can imagine the difficulties administrative mechanism of the state.

G It is only very recently, in 1938, as we have seen, that they have
641 all submitted in practice to civic life, to the obligation of military service, to taxes, etc.

G Between these two date (1835-1938) the influence of public law on
671 their lives, very minor in the beginning and very strong toward the end,

796 /260 cont./
789 and the multicolored viper
535 as a collar around your neck...
533 /261/ May the stones of this house
[539] never loosen
and may its master enjoy a long life...

Only the "bride," her head hidden beneath a scarf and not carrying bells, keeps herself apart in an attitude of great modesty; she neither sings nor dances.

796 The meaning of this song is obvious. The word "Madana" by which the
789 one who is preparing herself for the festival is addressed and who is none
533 other than the mistress of the house, means, in our opinion, the "mistress
796 of the waters." In order to interpret this word which, incidentally, is
174 not a Greek word, we refer to mandani, the device which beats woven material for a long time in water and of which we have spoken in connection with crafts. In the northern part of Greece this device is also called batani, a word whose origin is probably found in the Slavic vada which means "water" (vandani, and by transposition, batani).

796 It is not surprising that the Sarakatsani on that day address the
789 mistress of the waters. We shall see later on that certain evil sub-
796 terranean spirits, the kalikantzari, move about the earth at that time and
823 must be exorcised by water. That is not all. The presence of the married couple together with that of the mistress of waters shows immediately that we are dealing here with a practice incouraging fruitfulness, and the fertility is expressed in the complex: woman (Madana), water, couple. As
533 for the song, it completes the symbolism of creative forces. The sun,
796 driving out the chthonian spirits and itself personifying these same
789 forces, (35)
796
[821]
[825]

35. See the myths of Apollo.--J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 120, referring to the work of M. Chapouthier: Les Dioscures, pp. 268-281, establishes the relations existing between

Sara Katsani EH14

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece

Vlachs EH15

G. F. Abbott, *The Tale of a Tour in Macedonia* (London, 1903), gives evidence of the degree of Hellenization of the Vlachs fifty years ago.

H. N. Brailsford, *Macedonia: Its Races and Their Future* (London, 1906), devotes a whole chapter to the Vlachs, beginning with the description of Pisoderi, which he considers a typical village. He also, contrary to Abbott above, foresees a weakening of connection between the Vlachs and the Greeks.

Rennell Rodd traces the derivations of the word Vlach and provides some historical background in his book *The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece* (London, 1892).

9. This is a thoroughgoing study of their migration practices, costumes, birth, marriage, burial customs, intervillage relationships, the distribution of the Vlachs, the Vlach language, and the history and origin of the Balkan Vlachs. Full citation is: A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans: An Account of Life and Customs Among the Vlachs of Northern Pindus* (London, 1914).

Without attempting to cover the references to the Vlachs in other Balkan languages, I might mention one in Serbo-Croatian, entitled *O Cincarima* (Concerning the Cincari), by D. J. Popovic (Beograd, 1937). These Tsintsars are Serbized Vlachs, who have also become urbanized. Th. Capidan, himself a Koutso-Vlach who studied and lived in Roumania, has written very extensively about these Balkan nomads, primarily with the purpose of showing that all of them, even the Greek-speaking Sarakatsani, were originally Koutso-Vlachs. See his *Les Macédo-roumains. Esquisse historique et descriptive des populations roumaines* (Bucarest, 1937).

10. See Carsten Höeg, *Les Saracatsans, une tribe grecque* (Paris, 1925), for an excellent linguistic study. D. J. Georgacas, in his "Peri tes katagoges ton Sarakatsanaion kai tou Onomatos Auton" (Concerning the Origin of the Sarakatsani and Their Name), *Archeion Thrakikou Glossikou kai Laographikou Thesaurou*, XIV (1948–49), 193–270, argues against Höeg's theory that the Sarakatsani derive from an ancient nomadic tribe and claims that they did not become nomadic until the late Middle Ages.

11. This work of Demosthenes Sirakes is the best Greek source on the nomads. It discusses almost every possible aspect of their life, particularly in the economic sphere, and tries to indicate how the nomadic livestock producers can best be settled. Although the figures quoted here are old, they are probably as reliable as most estimates would be today. Full citation of the article is: "Orismos nomadikes, monimou kai georgikes ktenotrophias e e nomadike ktenotrophia en Helladi," *Georgikon Deltion tes Hellenikes Georgikes Etaireias* (Agricultural Bulletin of the Greek Agricultural Society), XII (1925), 651–777.

12. Z. Duckett Ferriman, mentioned in note 7 above, has even more to say about the undesirable qualities of the nomads (see pp. 45–54). He calls the reader's attention to the shepherds' dogs as follows: "We are apt to associate the name of sheep dog with collie. That graceful and sympathetic member of the canine family is far removed from the savage cerberi who guard the folds of Greece. Huge and powerful mastiffs, with heavy jowls and ensanguined eyes, they are no doubt valuable auxiliaries in the presence of marauding wolves. But, like their master, they are of low intelligence, and they take everyone except their masters for a wolf" (p. 52).

13. The work by K. Koukkides, *To pnevma tou synergatismou ton neoteron hellenon kai t'Ambelakia, o protos synetairismos tou kosmou* (Athens, 1948), is a splendid source for the study of patterns of mutual aid.

14. It is of historic interest to note that many of these chief shepherds became important klephts during the days of Turkish rule over Epirus and Northern Greece. If the klepht was friendly to you, he was known as a guerrilla leader; if he opposed you, he was a bandit. It was ever thus in the Balkans.

15. For a scholarly treatment in Greek of the tselingata, one should consult K. Karavides, *Agrotika* (Concerning Rural Life) (Athens, 1931). He analyzes for the rural Balkans as a whole four major forms of economic organization: the tselingata, the feudal tsifliki (estate), the patriarchal family which he associates with the zadruga, and the kephalochoria, or independent village where the peasants were their